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to have resulted on either side from a want of social morality or from lawlessness, but rather from the desire of each party to the quarrel to enforce the law as each saw it.

The British Empire, too, should be mentioned in this connection. For though it is not in form strictly a federal union, it is actuated in the government of its colonies and territories by much the same principles of freedom and independence in all local matters and protection against invasion, in return for the more or less centralized control of interests common to the whole Empire.—*Raleigh C. Minor, in "A Republic of Nations."*

## THE FUTURE OF AFRICA

By WM. E. B. DUBOIS

Editor of the Crisis, Official Organ of the National Association of Colored People.

ONE of the real problems of international justice is the gradual adjustment of inter-racial conditions and prejudices. The summary of an interview with Professor Dubois, a fellow passenger of the Editor, while enroute to Brest on the transport *Orizaba*, follows. Together with Principal Moton of Tuskegee Institute and other leaders of the Negroes in the United States, Professor Dubois was bound for Paris, there to confer with representative men of the colored races. The Editor of the ADVOCATE OF PEACE has been invited to attend this conference and plans to be present.

1. The barter of colonies without regard to the wishes or welfare of the inhabitants or the welfare of the world in general is a custom to which this war should put an end, since it is a fruitful cause of dissension among nations, a danger to the status of civilized labor, a temptation to unbridled exploitation and an excuse for unspeakable atrocities committed against natives.

2. It is clear that at least one of Germany's specific objects in the present war was the extension of her African colonies at the expense of France and Portugal.

3. As a result of the war the German colonies in Africa have been seized by the Allies and the question of their disposition must come before the peace conference. Responsible English statesmen have announced that their return to Germany is unthinkable.

4. However, to take German Africa from one imperial master, even though a bad one, and hand it over to another, even though a better one, would inevitably arouse a suspicion of selfish aims on the part of the Allies and would leave after the war grave questions of future colonial possessions and government.

5. While the principle of self-determination which has been recognized as fundamental by the Allies cannot be wholly applied to semi-civilized peoples, yet as the English Prime Minister has acknowledged, it can be partially applied.

6. The public opinion which in the case of the former German colonies should have the decisive voice is composed of:

(a) The chiefs and intelligent Negroes among the twelve and one-half million natives of German Africa,

especially by those trained in the government and missions schools.

(b) The twelve million civilized Negroes of the United States:

(c) Educated persons of Negro descent in South America and the West Indies.

(d) The independent Negro governments of Abyssinia, Liberia and Hayti.

(e) The educated classes among the negroes of French West Africa and Equatorial Africa and in British Uganda, Nigeria, Basutoland, Nyassaland, Swaziland, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Gambia and Bechuanaland, and the four and one-half millions of colored people in the Union of Africa.

These classes comprise today the thinking classes of the future Negro world and their wish should have weight in the future disposition of the German colonies.

7. It would be a wise step to ascertain by a series of conferences the desires, aspirations and grievances of these people and to incorporate to some extent in the plans for the reconstruction of the world the desires of these people.

8. The first step toward such conferences might well be the chief work of the movement to commemorate the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Negro in America.

9. If the world after the war decided to reconstruct Africa in accordance with the wishes of the Negro race and the best interests of civilization, the process might be carried out as follows: the former German colonies with one million square miles and twelve and one-half millions of inhabitants could be internationalized. To this could be added by negotiation the 800,000 square miles and nine million inhabitants of Portuguese Africa. It is not impossible that Belgium could be persuaded to add to such a State the 900,000 square miles and nine million natives of the Congo, making an International Africa with over two and one-half million square miles of land and over twenty million people.

10. This Africa (for the Africans) could be under the guidance of organized civilization. The Governing International Commission should represent not simply governments but modern culture—science, commerce, social reform, and religious philanthropy. (It must represent not simply the white world but the civilized Negro world.)

11. With these two principles the practical policies to be followed out in the government of the new states should involve a thorough and complete system of modern education built upon the present government, religion and customary law of the natives. There should be no violent tampering with the curiously efficient African institutions of local self-government through the family and the tribe; there should be no attempt at sudden "conversion" by religious propaganda. Obviously deleterious customs and unsanitary usages must gradually be abolished, but the general government set up from without must follow the example of the best colonial administrators and build on recognized established foundations rather than from entirely new and theoretical plans.

12. The real effort to modernize Africa should be through schools rather than churches. Within ten years

twenty million black children ought to be in school. Within a generation young Africa should know the essential outlines of modern culture and groups of bright African students could be going to the world's great universities. From the beginning the actual general government should use both colored and white officials and later natives should be worked in. Taxation and industry could follow the newer ideals of industrial democracy, avoiding private land monopoly and poverty, promoting co-operation in production and the socialization of income.

13. Is such a state possible? Those who believe in men; who know what black men have done in human history; who have taken pains to follow even superficially the story of the rise of the Negro in Africa, the West Indies, and the Americans of our day, know that our modern contempt of Negroes rests upon no scientific foundation worth a moment's attention. It is nothing more than a vicious habit of mind. It could as easily be overthrown as our belief in war, as our international hatreds, as old conception of the status of women; as our fear of educating the masses, and as our belief in the necessity of poverty. We can, if we will, inaugurate on the Dark Continent a last great crusade for humanity. With Africa redeemed, Asia would be safe and Europe indeed triumphant.

## THE EGOTISM OF SOVEREIGNTY

By Professor WM. J. KERBY

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THE central factor in organized social life is government through which sovereignty operates. It is the vicegerent of God in the social order. Truth and law as lodged in the Divine mind unite governments or states into one moral and social system. The moral government of the universe deals with states as parts of an intended whole. The temperament of a government under the influence of sovereign power tends to isolate states from one another, and to hide from each the wider vision of humanity that is the source of truth. It is our habit to represent the State as all-comprehensive, exclusive, permanent and absolute or sovereign. We make it technically ultimate because sovereignty functions through it. This view of the state tends by its nature to disintegrate the larger view of humanity as a moral whole, and it perverts the relations of all states to a marked degree.

The doctrine of sovereignty is simple. The psychology of sovereignty as supreme power exercised through government, that is through human beings, is confusing. In order to estimate at their real value the efforts of the Pan-American Union to redeem sovereignty from its failings and to gain for it the purifying vision of truth, we need but pass in review the temperament and attitudes of sovereignty as revealed in the behavior of the sovereign states and the human governments through which they operate.

Sovereignty is supreme collective human power. It is final within its own jurisdiction. It tends to become a law unto itself. By force of habit it diminishes its capacity to trust and gives confidence only when based upon visible guarantees. It conditions its thinking and colors its standards in such a way as to bear favorably upon the prestige and continued ascendancy of those to whom it is entrusted.

Sovereignty suspects its own generous impulses. It mistrusts universal human feeling and those deeper springs of action from which men normally draw their highest power. It is expansive, jealous, suspicious, restless. It acts only with deliberate foresight and according to accepted form and measure. It inclines to secrecy and to develop abnormal sensibility which finds hidden meaning in the most innocent words. It is always fearful of the consequences of decision and is indirect by habit in the name of self-defense. It is constantly on the defensive when dealing with other forms of sovereignty and is in consequence led very often into a state of double consciousness under the influence of which it prepares most thoroughly for war when speaking tenderly of peace. "*In pace para bellum.*"

Sovereignty must avoid every appearance of weakness. Hence it is indisposed to change its mind. It stands by its decisions even when later knowledge shows that it has erred. It feels organic dislike of repentance or apology. It shrinks from explanation because explanation is concession. It attaches full ethical sanction to facts as such and admits no principle of morality that can disturb the lasting rest of the "*fait accompli.*"

Sovereignty operating through government divides the world into independent parts which we call States. The consciousness of the state is primarily political. Its deepest impulses are toward coercion and unquestioned domination. Its morality tends to be that of self-defense and aggrandizement. It is too often not the morality of high-minded purpose nobly conceived and obeyed, as all great purposes should be obeyed, with splendid abandon. Army, navy, police, death, imprisonment, fine, as agents of compulsion are more familiar to its thinking and nearer to its aims than is the sweetness of human trust, the sanctity of divine faith, or the interior compulsion of truth and justice, held in reverent supremacy.

When all sovereign states yield, in their government, to the tendencies mentioned, the civilized world remains in a condition of unstable equilibrium, never far removed from the danger of war. When some of those in whom this supreme power is vested drift into the conviction that war alone can express adequately the might of the state and strengthen its foundations, justice and truth take up sad vigil at the tomb of peace and find comfort only in the conviction that God in His own time will bring relief.

The heavy penalty of these mistakes has been visited upon the world in our recent war. In our international relations we live far behind our ideals, but far ahead of our institutions and policies. Trade, travel, communication, international division of labor, universal education, contact of varied forms of culture have linked the nations of the world into an actual and highly complicated unity with the irresistible pressure of moun-

\* From sermon preached Thanksgiving Day, 1918, to Pan-American Union diplomats.